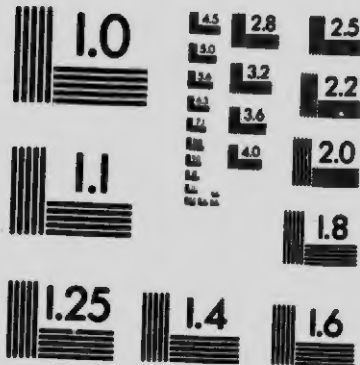


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## Opposed to Reciprocity in 1903



① SIR GEORGE W. ROSS, when Premier of Ontario, eight years ago, favored Preferential Trade with Mother Country in speech before Toronto Canadian Club. Argues against entangling fiscal alliances with United States.

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Trade affects sentiment, therefore Canada should look to British Market.

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"Where your treasure is, there will your heart be also."

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**Speech delivered by the Hon. G. W. ROSS, then  
Premier of Ontario, before the Canadian Club,  
Toronto, on November 30th, 1903, on  
"Mr. CHAMBERLAIN'S TARIFF PROPOSALS."**

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After thanking the Club for the honor done him in inviting him to address it, Hon. George W. Ross, Premier of Ontario, spoke as follows:—

**CHAMBERLAIN'S PROPOSALS**

"In order that we may properly understand the subject under discussion, let us briefly consider what Chamberlain proposes in the interests of the colonies. The first point to which I would call your attention is the preference, which is offered to colonial wheat of two shillings a quarter, which means in our nomenclature, six cents a bushel. It is well known that Great Britain is dependent upon foreign countries for food. In the matter of wheat alone her imports amount to about 140,000,000 bushels a year, in addition to about 12,000,000 barrels of flour. Of this Canada supplied last year 30,700,000 bushels of wheat and about 660,000 barrels of flour. From this statement it is evident that there is a large margin between Britain's demands and what is supplied by the Canadian agriculturist, and when we consider that the wheat area of Canada is reckoned variously at from 200,000,000 to 300,000,000 acres there need be no fear as to our ability to meet the requirements of the British Empire.

**ADVANTAGES TO CANADA**

Now, suppose this preference to British wheat were granted, what would be its advantages? Briefly put, I consider the following to be more than self-evident:

1. This preference would stimulate emigration to Canada and facilitate the occupation of the wild lands of the Provinces, but particularly the prairies of the West.
2. An increase of population would create a larger home market for the manufactured goods of the older provinces, employment

would be more abundant, our own skilled labor would be applied at home to the manufacture of our raw material, instead of the skilled labor of the foreign manufacturer, and the additional output of our factories would cheapen their products to the consumers.

3. It would greatly increase our transportation by rail and water and tend to the reduction of freights between Canada and foreign ports, and would add to the employment of remunerative labor in the carrying trade of the country.

4. It would help to build up our cities and towns and broaden our industries in every district where raw material is obtainable.

5. By creating a direct trade between Canada and Britain **our merchant marine would be increased and the seaports of Canada would become of equal importance with the seaports of the United States.** Already by the control obtained of our transcontinental trade Montreal has superseded Buffalo for the first time in the history of America in handling the grain and other products of the West.

### OTHER PROPOSALS

In the next place Chamberlain proposes a preference of 5 per cent. on meats (except bacon) and on the dairy products of the colonies. Here, as in the matter of grain, consumption of meats offers us an almost unlimited market. Last year Britain imported 1,114,000,000 pounds of meat of different kinds, such as beef, fresh and salted, mutton and pork (not including bacon) of which Canada supplied only 9,000,000 pounds. Her imports of bacon alone amounted to 570,000,000 pounds. The greater portion of this meat supply came from the United States, although Australia furnished the bulk of fresh mutton. Three million pounds of foreign meats are consumed in Britain every day and for a year we furnish only a three days' supply.

Then as to dairy products. Britain imported last year 445,000,000 pounds of butter, of which Canada supplied only 24,000,000 pounds and 285,000,000 pounds of cheese, of which Canada supplied 173,000,000 pounds, or 60 per cent. The total value of British imports of dairy products was 139,000,000 pounds sterling. Is there not ample room here for the expansion of our cheese and butter factories? We met the British market without a preference: a little preference would do us no harm—5 per cent. might represent the absolute profit on the transaction.

## PREFERENCE ON MANUFACTURES

In addition to this preference as to what might be called raw material, Mr. Chamberlain proposes a preference of 10 per cent. on colonial manufactures. Notwithstanding the large output of our own industries, Britain imported last year 99,000,000 pounds sterling of manufactured goods, mostly from France, Germany and the United States. That is one hundred million dollars more than all our exports and imports put together. Would it not be an advantage to us if our manufacturers, whose exports last year amounted to \$20,000,000, would have such a preference in the British market as would enable them to replace the goods now purchased from the countries I have mentioned? Unless the Canadian manufacturer looks abroad for an opening for his products he is in danger at any time of finding his home market fully occupied. The time will come when Canada is ten times the manufacturing country it is to-day, and the sooner it comes the better.

While our first duty is to Canada, we owe a duty to the Empire which cannot be overlooked, if we fully realize our obligations as one of the greatest colonies of the Empire, and for that reason I favor Mr. Chamberlain's policy, first, **because its object is to increase trade within the Empire.**

## CANADA'S PURCHASES

Canada imported last year, manufactured goods from the United States to the value of \$69,000,000. It would be a patriotic thing to purchase these goods from Great Britain, instead of the United States, which is a foreign country to us politically. The British Empire covers every zone and has thus within it raw material of every industry. She soon will be growing her own cotton, and a collapse such as occurred to the Lancashire mills during the civil war, will be impossible. Why not federate these industries and secure to the colonies and the Empire the profits of their interchange among themselves, as the United States secures, by its federation with its own people, the profits of the interchange of its great industries?

Secondly, I favor the policy because it adds commercial interest to the national sentiment which binds the Empire. This is not a sordid aim. Commercial interest makes for peace between foreign nations. On the eve of every great war statement consider the commercial effect that war will produce. Germany has federated

thirty-six provinces into a national unit. Cavour did the same for Italy. The United States has become a great federation. Confederation removed the barriers between all the provinces of Canada. And now there comes upon the stage another federation on a stage so high that all the world can look at it and see that the policy of the Imperialist—the true Imperialists—I do not mean the jingo—is so to federate the British Colonies that the British Empire will be as self-contained on commercial grounds as on sentimental grounds.

### **WILL PREVENT ALLIANCE WITH UNITED STATES**

I also favor Mr. Chamberlain's policy, because I believe it will prevent entangling alliances with the American republic. Our experience so far with the Americans has not been very satisfactory. Since Mr. Chamberlain has declared himself in favor of a preference to the Colonies the Americans have begun to show considerable anxiety for renewing reciprocal trade relations with us. I have not quite forgotten the reasons why the reciprocity treaty negotiated by Lord Elgin in 1854 was so summarily repealed in 1866. Neither is my judgment closed to the hostile character of the Dingley bill, by which the American market was practically closed against the Canadian manufacturers and farmers. In my judgment the commerce of Canada should never be placed at the mercy of the United States Congress or of any other competing nation. We have adapted our transportation now to British trade. To enter into a reciprocity treaty with the United States would be dependent upon the humor of our American neighbors and would be to discount all this expenditure. Commercially, I cannot bring myself to look with favor upon a reciprocity treaty under existing circumstances with a people who have specifically framed a tariff for our injury. Had our products been declared contraband they could scarcely have been shut out more fully.

### **TRADE WITH UNITED STATES**

For instance, our total exports of cattle last year amounted to 171,809 head, of which only 5,699 were sold to the United States. Our exports of butter amounted to 34,128,944 pounds, of which only 50,745 pounds went to the United States. Our total exports of cheese amounted to 229,099,925 pounds, of which only 56,676



pounds went to the United States. Our exports of barley amounted to 947,012 bushels, of which 37,112 bushels went to the United States. Our exports of flour amounted to 1,287,766 barrels, of which only 18,940 went to the United States. In manufactures the discriminating effects of the tariff against Canada are equally striking. For instance, of agricultural implements we sold \$2,284,904 worth, of which \$29,468 worth went to the United States. Of India rubber manufactures, we exported \$142,891, of which \$6,556 went to the United States. Of leather, we exported \$2,169,015, of which only \$18,836 went to the United States. Of household furniture we sold \$359,062, of which only \$14,754 went to the United States. Of doors, sashes and blinds we exported \$331,959, of which \$22,296 went to the United States. Of type-setting machines we exported 3,024 machines, of which only 29 machines were sold in the United States. Of organs we sold 6,290, only 107 of which went to the United States. Of bicycles we sold 4,206, of which only 94 went to the United States.

### EXPORTS OF CANADA

Taking up the exports of Canada in bulk I find that Britain now takes \$125,000,000 worth or about 60 per cent. of the entire exports of Canada, whereas the United States, although our nearest neighbor, takes only 30 per cent. or \$67,000,000 worth. Does it not appear the proper thing, partly because of our Imperial relations and partly because of the extent of the British market, that we should direct our energies towards settling its requirements rather than towards framing a treaty with a nation who has treated us with undoubted harshness in commercial matters and on whose commercial goodwill we cannot depend? I prefer to establish channels of trade with Great Britain, which I believe will be permanent. Where your treasure is, there your heart will be also. All we have to do is to enter in and possess it with Britain's assistance. In the United States we would be under a bond, and I decline myself to assume or to accept any policy that will place the trade of Canada at the mercy of Congress or at the mercy of a rival nation. England would have no object in changing the channels of her trade, but having established trade relations with her Colonies, it would be to her interest to maintain them. If the United States want any of our products, let them remove the duty as we have done with corn, coal and cotton. If they want our barley, let them take the 30 cents a bushel off. It is as simple as

ABC. If they are so anxious for reciprocity, let them begin by taking down some of these barriers. Better bring forth fruit meet for repentance.

### EFFECT ON INDUSTRIES

There is but one other point to be considered. It is objected that the preference of 33 1-3 per cent. offered freely to Great Britain is a menace to our own industries. I do not think this objection applies to any great extent. The complaint that comes with greatest force is from the manufacturers of woolen goods. In their case, I am advised there is a hardship, but even if that were so, is it not a hardship that could easily be overcome? We have grappled in Canada with far greater problems than the adjustment of a tariff affecting a single industry. Surely it cannot be said that the Parliament that built the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Intercolonial Railway and has extended confederation to the Pacific coast and has shown itself capable of governing successfully half a continent, is unable to settle the complaints of the woolen manufacturers in such a way as to do them justice.

I would like all Canadians to lift their heads into the purer atmosphere where they may have a clear vision of the whole field, so that they will be able to see a large question like this in its relations not only to Canada, but in its relations to Australia and New Zealand, and to view the nation in its relation to the future trade which we will build up by the same sturdy muscle and energy which we have employed in the development of Canada up to the present time.